1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

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Table 6: Number of Females in Bilek Family Labour Team

Number of females in *bilek* family's labour team	1	2	3
Incidence	8	13	5

Table 7: Number of Males in Bilek Family Labour Team

Number of males in *bilek* family's labour team	0	1	2	3	4
Incidence	2	16	5	2	1

As these data suggest, most *bilek* families are limited, in farming, to one or two female workers and one male.

The Custom of Bejalai

484 165. Before discussing division of labour among the Iban, let us return to a more detailed account of the important custom of *bejalai*. *Bejalai*, literally 'to walk', also means 'to go on a journey', and it is used, by the Iban, to describe the important institution of a journey undertaken for material profit and social prestige. These journeys frequently last for several years, and often extend to remote corners of the vast island of Borneo, to Malaya and the islands of the Indies, and sometimes even to New Guinea. The expeditions take many different forms. Some (lasting for not more than about three to six months) are inland to the primeval jungle—there to cut *rotan*, fell timber, or tap *jelutong*, for sale to Chinese traders. Since the war many groups of Baleh Iban have undertaken journeys to Indonesian Borneo (chiefly to the Mahakam and the Apo Kayan), trading commodity goods with the tribes there, for brass gongs and the like. But the most coveted journey of all is seawards. All manner of employments are engaged in: lumber-jacking in the forests of the deltas, tobacco farming in North Borneo, or manual labour at the oil fields of Brunei. Before the war, parties of Iban were employed in Malaya in up-country survey and forestry work; to-day they are serving as trackers with British regiments in action against Chinese communists. Every European who has lived among the Iban must have had the experience of young men pleading to be taken on that most alluring journey of all: to Ai Europa—"the rivers of Europe".

484 554 304 166. For Iban young men then (and particularly since the cessation of head-hunting), going on journeys is the greatest and most consuming interest which life has to offer. The lure of the distant sea and its fabled ports is inducement enough; but added to this are varied opportunities to earn money, and ultimately to purchase a gong, a jar or a shot-gun for one's triumphant home-coming. But the most powerful incentive of all is the very considerable social prestige which a much journeyed man can command. Iban custom prescribes that only on a *bejalai* can a man be tattooed, and so the sophisticated and widely travelled are easy to recognize for their bodies are as thickly covered with tattooing as is a globe-trotter's portmanteau with labels; and both customs have the same purpose: the advertising of achievement. Of recent years indeed, some Iban have taken to the practice of having tattooed on their bodies the names of the places they have visited. One young man of Rumah Nyala had tattooed on his forearm the proud words: "*Suda kerja di Singapora*" ("Have worked in Singapore"). Above all, it

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

is only after having accomplished many successful journeys that a man begins the performance of the series of elaborate rituals (all based on the institution of head-hunting) which confer social prestige in middle and old age.

167. Participation in the expeditions of older men begins soon after a lad reaches puberty, and during the next ten to fifteen years of his life going on *bejalai* is his principal preoccupation. As far as possible he times his various excursions to fit in with certain stages of the agricultural cycle. Ideally a young man returns to his long-house in about April, assists in the threshing, joins in the festivities that follow the harvest, lends a hand in the felling of the jungle for the next season's farm, and then, towards the end of June, is ready to set off once again. Sometimes he will wait until August or September to help in dibbling. During the months of weeding, guarding and reaping (i.e. October-March) however, it is rare to find young men living in their own long-houses. Some young fellows are disdainful of almost all farm work. Lagan (aged 22 years), of Rumah Nyala, had never assisted in any task other than felling, and this only once or twice; the running of the farm was left entirely to his elderly grandparents (70 and 65 years of age), who although they frequently complained of his behaviour were quite unable to alter his ways. Ujan (aged 19 years), who had six different expeditions (*bejalai*) to his credit, contributed—during the years 1949 and 1950—eight days to felling and two to the carrying in of the *padi*, but participated in no other farm work. Such are the untrammelled existences of young, unmarried men.

168. Moreover, marriage—in itself—has little effect on the wanderlust of the Iban. When a man marries for the first time—usually in his middle twenties—he can, in most cases, rely on his father or father-in-law to continue the management of the family farm. The son, or son-in-law, will try to be present for threshing, felling and dibbling, but during the six months when the *padi* is in the ground, he is free to roam as before. Only when a young man finds himself in the position of being the senior, active male member of his *bilek* family is he forced to restrain his proclivities, and to take over himself the arduous task of managing a farm.

The Management of a Bilek Family Farm

169. In the great majority of cases a man is not obliged to take over the management of his family's farm until he is over 30 years of age, and quite often not until he is approaching the age of 40 years. At Rumah Nyala in 1950, there were 16 married men 40 years of age and under (the youngest being 24 years), and during the period 1949-50, 12 (or 75%) of them took part in at least one lengthy (i.e. 3 months—6 months) *bejalai*. Of the four who did not participate, three were men who were the only adult male member of their respective *bilek* families. Further, of the 15 married men of the community, who were over 40 years of age and responsible for the management of a farm, only three (20%) went on a *bejalai* during the same period, 1949-50. We can say then that participation in journeys away from the long-house follows a clear pattern, which is related to the ages of the men concerned and their responsibilities for the management of the farms of their respective *bilek* families. This general pattern can be observed in Table 8.[1]

[1]There have been omitted from this summary: one moron (aged 32), and one simple-minded batchelor of 37 years.

(a) of the 5 unmarried men, *none* was responsible for the management of a *bilek* family farm;

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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coloured brown; these jackets and chawats are manufactured by the Dyaks of Sakarran and Sarebas, as are also the cotton bedangs of the women, and in times of peace they form an article of export to all the tribes of the neighbouring countries, the natives of none of which manufacture them for themselves.

A war party, or individuals of the Dyaks of Sakarran and Sarebas, are immediately recognised by the members of the other tribes by the abundance of their brass ornaments, and particularly the number of rings in their ears, the outer cartilage of that organ being pierced with holes along its edges for its whole length for their reception: the hole in the lobe of the ear contains the largest and greatest number of these ornaments, three or four being frequently found in it, sometimes equal to three inches in diameter. The whole number contained in each ear of the Dyak varies from six or eight to fourteen, and in young men, occasionally to eighteen; these gradually decrease in size towards the top of the ear, where they are very small. Other ornaments of brass-wire are distributed in profusion about their persons, particularly on their legs and arms; these latter are frequently covered with numerous rings of very strong brass-wire about an eighth of an inch in thickness, the elbow joint is the only part left bare, and it is frequently adorned with a large white bracelet made of the kima-shell; occasionally these rings of brass are flattened and stamped in various patterns, but the more general taste is to leave them round and

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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some other tribes, wear brass-wire above the elbow joint. The women of the Sebooyoh and other tribes wear in their ears ornaments of gold or silver, which are of such an extent of surface as entirely to conceal that organ: like the bracelets, the pattern is stamped upon them from the back, and the thin plate is soldered to a small tube which passes through the hole pierced in the ear, and is fastened by a nut in the manner of the more elegant ear-ornaments of the Malayan women before described. When about their household employments, these ornaments and this dress are generally worn by the females, but when they pursue their out-door duties a jacket similar to that of the men, but of a little finer texture, envelopes the upper part of their persons, and protects them from the thorns of the jungle. In the house they wear no head-dress, but abroad a large hat, made of coloured rattans very finely woven, protects them from the weather: in size it approaches that of the market-women of Bruni, but is more peaked at the top, and of a much more elegant appearance.

From the little friendly intercourse between the town of Sarawak, and the Sarebas, and Sakarran Dyaks, I have not been able to collect such accurate details as I could have wished respecting the government established amongst the people of these rivers, which differs considerably from that of the hill tribes, and more nearly approaches that of the orang Kyan, to the eastward of them, in many of their institutions.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban OC6

with scarlet cloth. There is another kind much worn by the Sakarangs which resembles a waistcoat more than a jacket, being without sleeves. The Ulu Ais manufacture a coarse white jacket striped with blue. The *klambi subang* manufactured by the Saribas is of finer and closer texture than any other, and is in consequence far more expensive. The thread of which it is wrought is procured from the Malays, and is of a red colour. The lower portion of the back is embroidered with gold and silver thread with a fringe of silk depending from it.

The *dandong* or shawl is worn slung over one shoulder.

The ornaments worn in the ear are various, some in the lobe and others in the outer cartilage. The former are called *langgu* and the latter *grunjong*. The *langgu* of the Ulu Ai is borrowed from the Punan, and consists of a small but heavy coil of brass or copper. The Lamanaks wear larger but lighter ones of lead. Boys sometimes wear a narrow strip of scarlet as a pendant to the ear or a wing of the golden green *chrysochroa* (? *buprestis*) beetle, so highly valued in India.

The *grunjong* is worn in the rim of the ear, which is pierced along its entire length to receive the numerous rings of which it is composed, and it looks uncommonly pretty on the person; but when it is discontinued for a time as it often is from choice or by necessity, as in mourning for instance, and the holes are plugged with wooden pegs to keep them open, the cartilage looks hideously ugly and disfigured by slits. The rings are of brass, and smallest at the top gradually increasing in size until they reach the bottom. A very great many are worn in each ear by the young and vain, while elderly men are content with fewer. The variety worn by the Ulu Ai and Ngkari are strung with white cowries, which are kept in their place by a ruby bead at either end of the line, and are heavier by far than the plain brass *grunjongs* used by the Sakarangs.

The *tinggu* is a pendant worn at each ear to droop on to the shoulder and is only worn by over-dressed dandies. It is decidedly ornamental, being made of thin crescent-shaped plates of brass stamped and fringed with metal.

A *simpai lengan* is an armlet, or as it is literally translated, a loop for the arm. It is worn above the elbow joint and is often of dark wood or carved ivory, but the kind most generally in use is formed from the base of the cone of the *kima* shell (*conus guratensis*), and is grooved on its upper surface. The cavity is filled up with resinous substance, and studded with the scarlet seed of the *michelia* or with a few nassar shells. It is a most becoming ornament but extremely expensive—
A pair of the largest And best, costing £6.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

Tatuing prevails to a small extent among the Sea-Dyaks, but it is by no means universal among them. It is besides a custom of very recent introduction but is steadily gaining ground, though as yet it is confined to the male sex. I have seen a few women with small patterns on their breasts, but they were exceptions to the rule and were not regarded with favour. The marks or patterns are found more commonly on the arms, shoulders, and thighs; occasionally also on the forehead, throat-apple, chest, and ulna. The patterns are small, of a bright blue tint, and supposed to improve the appearance of the men. They have no other use or signification whatever being neither distinctive of race, family, rank, nor of individual. The pigment employed is a solution of soot (dammar-soot), which is rubbed into the skin after it has been punctured. Tatuing has not yet acquired the dignity of a profession. Few Dyaks are really able to puncture with skill, although many of them can trace designs; but as their own designs are poor imperfect imitations of the Kyans, they disfigure the skin rather than adorn it. They say they are able to eradicate the pattern by puncturing it over again with the acrid sap of a forest tree. The designs employed are not numerous although four are in common use. The practice is simple but requires practice like most things. The design is first carved on wood in relievo; it is then smeared with the sooty preparation and printed on the skin. The figure is then punctured in outline with a set of needles dipped in the ink (for such it is), and afterwards filled up in detail. More ink is poured on to the skin and allowed to dry into it. Rice is smeared over the inflamed surface to keep it cool; if this is not done, it is apt to gather and fester. The limb operated upon must be kept free from wet, and must not be scratched however much it may itch. The operator of course requires to be remunerated, but as he is not a professional he is satisfied with a moderate guerdon.

Among the Lugats there was a certain Aman Jerin who was partially but beautifully tatued in patterns of a bright blue tint.

Painting.—The men never paint their bodies, but the women after bathing often colour themselves from the waist upwards with turmeric to render themselves yellow and attractive. The result is far from agreeable to the eye of an European, but for this they care little so long as their efforts to please are appreciated by the men of their own race, which appears to be the case.

Scars.—The men do not make any use of raised cicatrices to ornament the body, but they are proud of scars nevertheless

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban OC6

304 and especially if they are regular and symmetrical. They are
[75] particularly proud of their vaccination marks if they show out well, and are equidistant apart. The women often prove the courage and endurance of the youngsters by placing a lighted ball of tinder on the arm, and letting it burn into the skin. The marks thus produced run along the forearm from the waist in a straight line, and are much valued by the young men as so many proofs of their power of endurance.

301 *Ear-holes.*—The rim of the ear is perforated from top to
304 bottom with sometimes as many as twenty holes to support the ear-rings commonly used by the men. The lobe of the ear is also pierced and enlarged to receive a pendant. These organs present a hideous appearance when the ornaments are laid aside, as they reveal in all their deformity the slits and sores, while to add to their uncomeliness the holes are plugged with
[513] bits of wood to keep them open. These ear-rings, especially the heavy shell ones, oblige a man to lie flat on his back when he is going to sleep, it being painful to rest on the sides of the face.

301 Kyans and others wear tiger cat teeth in the tips of their ears.
[171] The points of Dians (a native on the Rejang river) I observed turned upwards, which is not usual, and he said it was an old custom revived by a chief named Hang. The Uma Lesongs wear two such teeth in each ear, the upper one pointing upwards, the lower one downwards; those who are unable to procure the genuine article wear imitation ones carved out of horn or bone.

302 *Teeth filing and staining.*—The upper incisors of both sexes
304 are often filed into a single sharp point; a hole is bored through the centre of each and filled with brass. The enamel is scraped off with a rough stone, and the teeth are rubbed with leaves which stain them black. The lower incisors are ground down to half their natural size and blackened in the same fashion,
[147] but are neither pointed nor studded with metal. Caries is rare, and the natives seldom suffer from tooth-ache. The teeth are naturally beautifully white and regular, but it is the fashion to disfigure them in this manner as they approach the ages of puberty—boys do it when they begin to care to please the women. They dislike white teeth and consider them hideous. I once saw a Sakarang wearing over his natural teeth a thin brass plate (*lias*) cut to resemble a row of pointed teeth; this was worn over the upper incisors and hooked into the molars. I believe the boy picked up the notion from the Mentuaris or Malohs (Malaus), but I do not imagine it is common with his tribe as I never saw another with it either before or after.

304 *Circumcision.*—Circumcision is practised but it is not

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban CC6
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universal or obligatory, and is only performed upon males. In the female the clitoris is said to be amputated.

The spritsail yard in the penis.—The *palang* is a smooth bar of bone or metal, the size and length of the bar of an ordinary watch-guard, with the ends rounded off. It is not generally so elaborate as the *utang* (perforation of penis) used by the Kyan chiefs, but it is equally effective and gratifying to the female. The *palang* is not, however, a Dyak institution; it originated with the Kyans, but it is fast becoming popular with at least a portion of the rising generation. It is nevertheless a pernicious practice, and ruinous to the male organ, even if the operation be skilfully performed; it is therefore to be hoped that the young fellows will discover their mistake before it is too late and refuse point blank to pander to the vitiated propensities of the looser behaved females. These latter encourage the practice for their own selfish purposes by every artifice in their power. The truth appears to be that no woman once habituated to its use will ever dream of permitting her bedfellow to discontinue the practice of wearing it. The Dyaks are satisfied with one, the Kyans, especially the chiefs, with sometimes as many as three at a time. The operation is a painful one for any man to submit to, and if the hole be not driven clear of the urethra the consequences are apt to be serious in the extreme. The member is first immersed in cold water and when numb to all sensation, the glans is compressed sideways between a pair of perforated bamboos, and a pointed brass peg is driven through it with a single blow, but in such a manner as to pass above the urinary canal. The *palang* is then introduced as the peg is slowly drawn out.

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The *palang unus*, as it is called, is also used by the Dyaks. It is a ring, or collar, of plaited palm fibre, furnished with a pair of stiffish horns of the same wiry material. It is worn on the neck of the glans and fits tight to the skin so as not to slip off. The idea is in all probability borrowed from the Malays.

5. *Hunting.*

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[262]

Hunting with dogs.—Hunting is with the Sea-Dyaks an occasional pursuit rather than a steady occupation or a necessity of existence. They subsist more upon a vegetable than an animal diet, and they fish far more than they hunt. They only form hunting parties once or twice a year, when the entire village is about to celebrate some periodical festival, and it becomes an imperative duty to provide an abundance as well as a variety of food for the guests. Other tribes devote more time to the chase

6: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951) 1958 OC6 Iban OC6

people are the descendants of migrants from the interior of the Second Division of Sarawak, and especially from the headwaters of the Batang Lupar. Travelling chiefly by way of the Katibas and Ngemah rivers, the first of these migrants reached the primeval forests of the Baleh in the early 1880's, but it was not until about forty years later, following serious conflict with the Brooke Government, that permanent Iban settlement was achieved [2]. Today the Baleh is an exclusively Iban area.

During the years—from 1949 to 1951—when my field research was undertaken [3], the Iban of the Baleh region were still little touched by the outside world. Their men, with long hair and bodies profusely tattooed, and their women, clad in ikat skirts of their own weaving, were all still pagan and pre-literate; and throughout the whole Baleh region, Iban culture—in all its extraordinary richness—was still a flourishing reality. In this essay then, we shall be concerned with the traditional ways of the Iban, ways which—because of the tolerant policies of the White Rajahs of Sarawak—have survived unscathed into the modern world.

THE IBAN LONG-HOUSE

All of the Iban of the Baleh region still live in long-houses. Architecturally there is nothing very remarkable about an Iban long-house, but many of them, out of sheer length, make an impressive spectacle. Rumah Tungku, for example, one of the long-houses selected for detailed discussion in this essay, extends in an uninterrupted line for more than a sixth of a mile. Standing on an elevated terrace, well beyond the reach of flood waters, and lifted high on score upon score of hardwood piles, it stretches—as do all Iban long-houses—along the bank of a river. Here and there, entry ladders of notched logs lead up like gangways to the *tanju*, an open platform that runs the entire length of the spindly structure and gives access to the public gallery and the family apartments beyond. Over both gallery and apartments a low-pitched roof of wooden shingles forms an unbroken expanse. At first glance the whole sprawling building seems like some huge barracks or pavilion.

Few long-houses have the dimensions of Rumah Tungku (sixty to a hundred yards is more common a length), but, casually regarded, all Iban long-houses do have the appearance of being compact architectural units, and this appearance has led some writers (Baring-Gould and Bampfylde 1909: 27) to the supposition that the long-house is therefore the outcome of some kind of communal or group organization and ownership. For the Iban, however, this supposition is very far from the truth.

Although the platform (*tanju*) and the gallery (*ruai*) of a long-house do extend without interruption throughout its entire length, an Iban long-house is, in fact, made up of a series of independently owned apartments, and

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

this waist-cloth is woven by the Dyak women, and then the end that hangs down in front has an elaborate pattern woven into it. Their head-dress is either a bright-coloured headkerchief, or else a small cap of woven cane, in which feathers and other ornaments are often stuck. The *tikai buret*, or seat-mat, is made either of the skin of some animal or of cane matting. Its edges are decorated with red and white cloth, and with beads or buttons.

Besides these articles of apparel the men sometimes wear a sleeveless jacket, or *klambi*. These are often woven by the Dyak women, either from yarn spun from cotton of their own growing or from imported yarn of a finer texture. More often in the present day they are made of cloth of European manufacture. The patterns of the Dyak-woven *klambi* are various, but those of a particular type can only be worn by men who have succeeded in securing a human head when on the warpath. The lower edge of this jacket is ornamented with beads, shells, and buttons, and bordered by a fringe.

In addition to the attire already mentioned, the men have sometimes a *dandong*, or shawl, which is thrown over the shoulders. The ornaments worn on the arms and legs are brass rings, which vary among the Dyaks of different districts. Armlets made from sea-shells are very much in favour among some inland tribes. The young men generally wear their hair long, cut in a fringe in front, and either hanging down loose behind, or tucked into their caps.

Tattooing is practised by most of the Dyaks in a greater or less degree. It is confined to the male sex, who often have little patterns tattooed on the forehead, throat-apple, shoulders, or chest.

The dress of the women consists of a petticoat (*kain*),

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

291 drawn tightly round the waist and reaching to the knee, and in addition a *klambi*, or jacket, worn when out of doors. For ornaments the women wear finger-rings, 291 necklaces, earrings, and bracelets, and often a girdle 301 formed of silver coins, or of silver or brass chain. Round the stomach are wound long strips of coloured cane. Among some tribes a peculiar corset, called the *rawai*, is worn by the women. This is made of small brass rings strung closely together on hoops of rattan, which are connected with one another inside by a network of cane. A few of these hoops are made larger so as to hang loose over the hips. The series that encase the waist, stomach, and chest fit very close. This corset must be very uncomfortable, as the wearer can hardly bend the body at all, especially when it is worn right up to and covering the breasts, as it is done by some young women who can afford such extravagance.

302 The hair is worn long, and tied in a knot at the back of 142 the head. Some of the women have beautiful raven black hair of great length. Wavy or curly hair is seldom seen.

302 The teeth are often blackened, as black teeth are con- 386 sidered a sign of beauty. The blackening is done by taking a piece of old cocoanut-shell or of certain woods, and holding it over a hot fire until a black resinous juice exudes. This juice is collected, and while still warm the ● 304 teeth are coated with it. The front teeth are also frequently filed to a point, and this gives their face a curious dog-like appearance. Sometimes the teeth are filed concavely in front, or else the front teeth are filed down till almost level with the gums. Another curious way of treating the front teeth is to drill a hole in the middle of each tooth, and fix in it a brass stud. I was once present when this operation was in progress. The man lay down

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

with a piece of soft wood between his teeth, and the "dentist" bored a hole in one of his front teeth. The agony the patient endured must have been very great, judging by the look on his face and his occasional bodily contortions. The next thing was to insert the end of a pointed brass wire, which was then filed off, leaving a short piece in the tooth; a small hammer was used to fix this in tightly, and, lastly, a little more filing was done to smooth the surface of the brass stud. I am told the process is so painful that it is not often a man can bear to have more than one or two teeth operated on at a time.

The Dyaks do not like beards, and much prefer a smooth face. In the whole course of my Dyak experience I have only met with one bearded man. The universal absence of hair upon the face, on the chest, and under the arm-pits might lead one to suppose that it was a natural deficiency. But this is not the case at all, as old men and chronic invalids, who by reason of age or infirmity have ceased to care about their personal appearance, have often chins covered with a bristly growth. The absence of hair on the face and elsewhere is due to systematic depilation. The looking-glass and tweezers are often seen in the hands of the young men, and they devote every spare moment to the plucking out of stray hairs. *Kapu*, or quicklime, which is one of the constituents of betel-nut mixture chewed by the Dyaks, is often rubbed into the skin to destroy the vitality of the hair-follicles.

Among some tribes it is the fashion for both men and women to shave the eyebrows and pull out the eyelashes, and this gives their faces a staring, vacant expression. I have often tried to convince them of the foolishness of trying to improve upon nature in this way, and pointed out that both eyebrows and eyelashes are a protection

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

Dyaks have a great dislike of mentioning the name of anyone who is dead. So when a man dies, it is usual for his namesakes in his village to have new names given them.

It is considered a terrible crime to mention the name of the father-in-law or mother-in-law. Though a Dyak does not speak of his father and mother by name, still if he were asked their names, he would give them. But if a man were asked the name of his father-in-law or mother-in-law, he would not tell it, but ask some other person present to do so.

The Dyaks will eat fruit that has fallen from any tree, but if they find fruit by the path, they will never touch it. The reason for this is given in the Dyak legend, "Danjai and the Were-Tiger's Sister" (p. 265).

I remember once walking with some Dyaks, and a man carrying a load of fruit passed us. Farther on we saw some fruit which had evidently dropped from his load, but none of the Dyaks would eat it.

Circumcision is practised among certain Dyak tribes. It is not a religious ceremony, and is not accompanied with the offering of sacrifices or the singing of incantations. All I have been able to learn from such tribes as practise it, is that it has been the custom from ancient days, and so they do it. The cutting of the foreskin is not done with a knife, but with a piece of sharpened bamboo. The custom is by no means universal among the Sea Dyaks.

When going out fishing or hunting it is considered most unfortunate to mention the name of any fish or bird, or to talk of any animal which it is hoped to secure. One evening I was out shooting wild pig, and was sitting in a dug-out, which was paddled up a stream by three Dyaks.

and the general average 63.45 inches. These figures are all a little too high because of the selection by the recruiting officers and I would estimate the right correction to be a reduction of 0.2 or 0.3 inches.

In 1901 A. C. Haddon F.R.S. did a survey of the physical characteristics of the Ibans in all areas and found the average height to be 62.7 inches. Dr. Haddon examined 56 Ibans and with this comparatively small number it is not justified to compare the two averages through the age distribution was roughly the same.

The average weights were:—Song 126 lbs. Simanggang 119. 5 lbs. Engkilili 115 lbs. In other districts the scales used were found to be inaccurate so invalidating the results. The average weight is 120 lbs for a man of 25 years.

Palangs. A palang is a piece of bone transfixing the glans penis and usually passing through the urethra. Its purpose is to give the wife greater satisfaction in sexual intercourse. Many primitive people use similar devices. At first I kept no records of their prevalence but my recollection is that in Kapit area 30-40% had them or had perforations for them (perhaps having politely removed them for medical examination.). In Song 1 in 46 in Lubok Antu 2 in 105 and Simanggang and Engkilili none at all. Of those that had palang most were made of bone, but some had slivers of rattan curling up at both ends and others were of wood or brass. The incidence of palangs corresponds very well with my impression of the type of men, i.e those from Kapit still retaining their long hair, multiple tattoos and the sirat instead of European shorts and trousers and being altogether less influenced by civilisation.

Another characteristic of the less westernised Ibans was their extreme shyness in exposing their sexual organs whether wearing palangs or not.

During my tour I spent some time living in long-houses and going round hospital wards in the two Divisions and found that the pattern of disease I saw differed little from what I had found examining recruits.

Naturally a casual observer sees nothing of the mortality among infants nor can he assess the mortality and morbidity among the Ibans. But my impression after examining more than 500 of them is that the health of recruits is extremely good and compares very favourably with National Servicemen in England.

I am grateful to the A.D.M.S. Malaya for permission to publish this article.

292 X 531 The third row shows figures, the heads of which are labelled *pala engkaramba bekatapu*, head with war cap, wearing the feathered war cap, *ujok ujok katapu*. One of the carried heads is labelled *minching* (*labu*). *Labu* signifies a gourd, and it is possible that it is a gourd with holes for eyes and a slit for the mouth, which is used as a substitute for a head. The attitudes of the figures and the changed position of the heads in the last two rows suggest that they represent a head-hunting dance.

The fourth and sixth rows contain alternate male and female figures similar to those of the third row on the front of the jacket, but in these two rows there is below each figure a *kukut burong*, "claws of a bird". The males have a long line with curled ends passing through the glans penis, which [304 832 177] evidently represents a *palang*. According to Brooke Low (Ling Roth, *J.A.I.*, XXII, 1892 (1893), p. 45) the custom of perforating the glans for the permanent insertion of a short rod with a knob at each end, *palang*, was adopted by the Iban from the Kayans. The head of a male figure in the fourth row is labelled *pala engkaramba manang bali*, the head of a *manang bali*, and a male figure in the sixth row is called *engkaramba manang bali*.

The figures in the fifth row are labelled *gambar mensia*, but the head of one of them is called *pala engkaramba*, head of an *engkaramba*; these are essentially similar to the figures in the fifth row on the front of the jacket, except that they have no teeth.

The right sleeve has along its length five *engkaramba anak orang entepa* similar to those on the front and back of the jacket, and also designs: *tabor mata puna*, scattered eyes of pigeons, and *tabor bunga janggat*, scattered flowers of the white pumpkin. The two latter are also scattered over the left sleeve, on which are two other patterns which we do not recall having seen elsewhere.

292 [554] This is evidently a very special kind of *kalambi*, which we may surmise was worn only on particular occasions. Concerning the human figures it is interesting to find that "only women belonging to ancient and honourable families may make *engkaramba* and even they must begin by making other patterns" (Haddon MS.). The *Sea Dyak Dictionary* gives "*Engkramba*, a representation of anything cut out of wood". They are used to prevent harm from coming to crops, etc.

601
612 distributed to cognates. The same considerations apply to all of an individual's first cousins (and beyond to second and third cousins, etc.). Again, all of these cousins (if they be of the opposite sex to Ego) are equally available as partners in marriage. It is possible then to make the generalization that beyong the bilek rights and duties within the personal kindred are so balanced as to be bilaterally symmetrical.[27]

612
304 The Iban (with an attention to detail that delights the ethnographer) have symbolized this in one of their more important personal rites, the gawai tusok, which is concerned with the ritual piercing of a child's ear lobes. The piercing of the ear lobes is an event of moment in the life of an individual for it is believed that on the proper performance of the operation will depend his (or her) subsequent health and welfare. The rites are elaborate, involving the invocation of tutelary gods and the employment of special charms and magical materials; the culmination of the gawai is the actual piercing of the ears with a small steel auger. It is a common practice to have the lobe of one ear pierced by a cognate of the father and that of the other by a cognate of the mother, so symbolizing the child's equal dependence on both sides of his (or her) personal kindred.

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593 An individual's siblings, it will be noted, are all referred to by the same term : menyadi. In other words brothers are not distinguished from sisters; furthermore the term menyadi is applied to all brothers and sisters irrespective of seniority within the sibling group. Similarly, no distinction is made by either parent in respect of his (or her) children; both sons and daughters (of whatever birth order) are referred to by the same term : anak. These two usages may also be cited as instances of kinship terminology reflecting basic jural rights, for as

5. "Big Men" among "big men"

A fifth factor contributing to the Iban migrations of the nineteenth century, one which must necessarily be discussed in some detail, was a deep resentment of the Brookes' paternalism and interference with traditional ways of life. The Ibans were oriented to a high degree of mobility and independence, and reacted to the invasions of their lives by an authoritarian government with the time-honored reactions of fight and flight. Iban society has always been (and is) highly factionalized, and the leadership patterns show numerous parallels with the "big man" complex of Melanesia, as will be discussed below.

Adapting as they did to an environment of relatively limited productivity in which they had to move every five or six years, the Ibans placed a premium on the achievements of the individual, especially the male: pejalai, pioneering, beadhunting, success in farming, and tattooing (an ordeal in design to see whether a man could withstand physical pain),[17] among others.

We have mentioned the autonomy and independence of the bilik family, which produced and consumed its own food. On this point,

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[17] Several Iban men explaining why they were untattooed stated quite unashamedly that they couldn't stand the pain. Tattooing is done with five needles tied together, the points dipped in soot and driven under the skin. It is a rapidly disappearing form of art and type of ordeal.

Makassar OG6
Mentawi OD9
Timor OF20

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Land Dyak OC8
Iban OC6
Javanese OE5

Id [237 cont.]
304 haircutting, which sometimes is done as a symbol of submission.
174 For this reason the married woman had a couple of teeth knocked
585 out to show that she had become the property of her husband.
302

B After the filing generally comes the necessary second step,
MI the blackening of the teeth. For this a kind of varnish, called
304 badja by the Malays and Bataks, is used, which can be obtained
302 in various ways. The Malays of central Sumatra and of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago make badja by burning a stick of karamunting wood or a piece of the hard shell of the coconut, and the fluid that drips out is caught in an iron spoon and mixed with various ingredients. In some areas of the Padang Highlands, badja is made by burning the same kind of wood under a coconut shell

B in which a hole has been made and above which an iron spoon
LD is held. The smoke that reaches the spoon makes soot, which
Ib is mixed with oil and other ingredients. The Batak and the
304 Dajak of the southeastern division of Borneo and of Sarawak obtain
302 this dyestuff in about the same way. The Javanese go to work
J in a different way to color their teeth. They use the so-called
304 bangon, a mouthwash of coconut water, into which is put a
302 glowing piece of iron that is left in it for a few days. Some-
MK times they chew the rind of a pomegranate before applying the
[304 bangon. The Makassarese and Buginese use a similar method.
302]

Mt Some peoples do not blacken the teeth. It is not done,
T for example, among the Mentawei Islanders, the Timorese, or
A the Ambonese. All these peoples have a high regard for shiny
304 white teeth.
302

J We must say a few words about the blackening of the
304 [238] teeth of the Javanese, which are filed at acute angles and
302 in relief. It seems that the bangon colors the teeth only where enamel has been removed. In the case of relief-filing, the front surface of the teeth is treated in such a way that the enamel is not entirely removed; part of it remains, with the result that this part is gleaming white on a black background. Those who have their teeth treated this way are generally young men who in later years will have all the enamel removed so the teeth will be uniformly black.